

NOV 2 1956

CPYRGHT Approved For Release 2000/06/05 : CIA-RDP70-00058R000100140060-9

DE 3-1

X - See 6 Hung

FBIS 77-L (SUB FOR ITEM 62-L)

BUDAPEST HUNGARIAN HOME SERVICE 1900 11/25

(SPEECH BY JANOS KADAR AT THIS MORNING'S CONFERENCE IN THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING; BROADCAST RECORDINGS, SUPPLEMENTED BY ANNOUNCER'S SUMMARIES)

(TEXT) KADAR-- HONORABLE CONFERENCE! THIS MORNING I WAS INFORMED THAT YOU WOULD MEET, AND WE AGREED THAT I WOULD LIKE TO EXCHANGE A FEW WORDS WITH THE CONFERENCE. COMRADE MAROSAN HAS JUST SPOKEN, AND THEREFORE I CAN CUT MY SPEECH VERY SHORT, BECAUSE I DO NOT WANT TO DEAL WITH MANY QUESTIONS.

AS TO AN EVALUATION OF EVENTS, I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE HERE THAT THESE EVENTS REQUIRE VERY SERIOUS EXAMINATION, IN ORDER TO BE ABLE TO SAY WHAT HAS HAPPENED. THE EVENTS, HOWEVER, HAVE FEATURES WHICH ARE STRIKING AND CLEAR, AND WHICH ENABLE EVERYBODY TO ADOPT A STAND IN THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS.

AN ARMED RISING STARTED ON OCT. 23. IF I LOOK UPON THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE RISING, THEN I MUST SAY THAT THE PURPOSE OF THIS RISING WAS NOT TO OVERTHROW THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, BUT TO CORRECT THE MISTAKES COMMITTED BY THE LEADERSHIP.

IF I REGARD THE PARTICIPANTS! BUT IF I TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE MANNER IN WHICH THIS RISING BROKE OUT, IF I CONSIDER THAT WITHIN THREE HOURS AFTER THE FIRING OF THE FIRST SHOT, THE INTERNATIONAL SECTION OF THE JOZSEF TELEPHONE EXCHANGE WAS OCCUPIED, EXACTLY AS HAPPENED ON JUNE 23, 1919, DURING THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY RISING UNDER THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP, IF I TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE EXCELLENT MILITARY ORGANIZATION, WHICH IN ADDITION TO THE TELEPHONE EXCHANGE, ATTACKED AND MOSTLY OCCUPIED THE TRUCK DEPOT, THE MILITARY STORE, THE "SZABAD NEP" BUILDING, AND THE RADIO STATION--THEN FROM THIS ORGANIZATION I CANNOT DECIDE THAT HERE HONEST AND WELL-MEANING PEOPLE, BENT ON CORRECTING THE MISTAKES OF THE REGIME, WERE FIGHTING ALONG.

IF I ADD TO THIS THE STATEMENT MADE BY ALLEN DULLES, BROTHER OF THE U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE, AND HEAD OF THE U.S. INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, THAT THEY HAD ADVANCE KNOWLEDGE OF THE EVENTS IN HUNGARY, IF I CONSIDER THE CONVERSATION WITH TWO YOUNG MEN WHO WERE ON GUARD AT GERO'S FORMER HOME, ON HOW THEY OBTAINED THEIR ARMS, WHEN THESE TWO YOUNG MEN SAID THAT AT NOON ON OCT. 23 THEY WERE TOLD IN WHICH CORNER OF A PLOT OF LAND ON SZABADSAG MOUNT THEY WOULD FIND THE ARMS BURIED, AND THEY WENT THERE AND SURE ENOUGH FOUND THEM, THEN ONE CANNOT SAY THAT INDIGNANT STUDENT YOUTHS STARTED THIS RISING HERE. THIS CAN BE PRECISELY WORKED OUT LIKE TWO AND TWO. MY PERSONAL OPINION IS, AND THIS IS THE OPINION OF THE PARTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND ALSO OF THE GOVERNMENT, THAT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO CALL OCT. 23, AS IT STANDS, A COUNTERREVOLUTION. THIS IS MY OPINION.

WHAT IS THE OTHER MAIN CHARACTERISTIC OF THE EVENTS? THE OTHER MAIN CHARACTERISTIC OF THE EVENTS IS THE FACT THAT ON THE DAY OF THE CEASE-FIRE, ON OCT. 30, AT MIDDAY WHEN IT APPEARED THAT THE CEASE-FIRE WAS ONLY A ONE-SIDED CEASE-FIRE, THE COUNTERREVOLUTION BEGAN IN HUNGARY; AND IT MADE ITSELF APPARENT LATER MORE AND MORE OPENLY.

Approved For Release 2000/06/05 : CIA-RDP70-00058R000100140060-9

THIS WAS CLEARLY REVEALED ALSO WHEN THE TROOPS DEFENDING GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS AND THE STATE STRICTLY OBSERVED THE CEASE-FIRE, WHILE THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES HAPPILY SHELLED VARIOUS PUBLIC BUILDINGS. I JUST CANNOT SIMPLY CALL THEM WELL-MEANING INSURGENTS.

IT WAS THE MANIFEST IN THOSE POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF WHICH COMRADE MAROSAN JUST SPOKE, AND IN THOSE MILITARY MEASURES WHICH WERE CARRIED OUT IN WEST GERMANY, AND WHICH "BERLINER ZEITUNG" EXPOSED BY DESCRIBING EXACTLY HOW THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ARMED TROOPS MAINTAINED IN WEST GERMANY WERE MOBILIZED AND DIRECTED TOWARD HUNGARY -- THIS CANNOT BE TERMED OTHERWISE BUT AS A COUNTERREVOLUTION.

THE THIRD CHARACTERISTIC OF THE EVENTS -- AND I INTEND TO DEAL WITH THIS QUESTION AGAIN ON ANOTHER OCCASION -- IS THE CAMOUFLAGING OF THE COUNTERREVOLUTION, AND THIS APPLIES TO THE ACTIVITY OF THE IMRE NAGY GOVERNMENT DURING THE PERIOD AFTER OCT. 30.

WE CANNOT FIND ANY OTHER NAME TO DESCRIBE THIS THAN THE CAMOUFLAGING OF THE COUNTERREVOLUTION, BECAUSE DURING THE PERIOD WHILE THE GOVERNMENT WAS FUNCTIONING HERE IN THE PARLIAMENT BUILDING WITH THE VARIOUS PARTIES, AND TRULY STATED, AMID THE SUFFERING OF THE TORMENTED PEOPLE AND AMID THE SQUABBLING AND WRANGLING AROUND THE SPOILS OF COALITION LEADERSHIP AND SHARING OUT, AND WHILE THE PEOPLE WERE STILL TALKING OF DEMOCRACY HERE, IN THE STREETS THE COUNTERREVOLUTION WAS RAGING, MURDERING PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE. THIS IS WHY WE CALL THIS THE CAMOUFLAGING OF COUNTERREVOLUTION.

ANNOUNCER -- KADAR THEN ANSWERED THE QUESTION: "WHAT DOES THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER-PEASANT GOVERNMENT WANT?"

THE GOVERNMENT WANTS TO REVERSE THE TREND WHICH HAS DEVELOPED IN THE COUNTRY DURING THE PREVIOUS WEEKS. THE NUMBER ONE DEMAND IS THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS. THE SOVIET ~~XXXXXX~~ ~~IS~~ ~~THE~~ ~~IMMEDIATE~~ TROOPS WERE WITHDRAWN FROM BUDAPEST ONLY -- AND IMMEDIATELY THE COUNTERREVOLUTION APPEARED. IT HAS BEEN PROVED IN PRACTICE THAT THIS ROAD IS NOT VIABLE BECAUSE WHAT HAPPENS AFTERWARD? THE SOVIET TROOPS ARE WITHDRAWN, AND IN COMES THE COUNTERREVOLUTION; IT DESTROYS THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE, AND THEREAFTER THERE IS NO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE WHATSOEVER.

THE DECLARATION OF NEUTRALITY IS ONLY THE FIRST STEP. AFTERWARD, IT IS NO TROUBLE AT ALL TO DECLARE THAT WE ARE JOINING THE ATLANTIC BLOC AND TO BRING HERE AMERICAN TROOPS. BUT THINGS WOULD NOT HAVE STOPPED HERE, EITHER. IF THE COUNTERREVOLUTION HAD MANAGED TO GET GOVERNING POWER IN ITS HANDS AND ANNIHILATED THE PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS, WAR WOULD HAVE IMMEDIATELY STARTED ON THE TERRITORY OF HUNGARY.

THE FACT THAT THERE IS NO WAR TODAY IS DUE, NOT SO MUCH TO THE SOBER GROUPS OF WESTERN CIRCLES AND TO SOBER CONSIDERATIONS, BUT RATHER TO THE SIMPLE FACT THAT THE SOCIALIST WORLD IS MILITARILY STRONGER AND MORE DETERMINED. THE GOVERNMENT HAS REVERSED THE ORDER.

LET US BREAK DOWN THE COUNTERREVOLUTION ALSO BY USING THE HELP OF SOVIET TROOPS. LET US STRENGTHEN THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC STATE, THE POWER OF THE WORKING PEOPLE, RESTORE ORDER, AND NORMALIZE THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE; AND WHEN THIS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, THEN THE

REVOLUTIONARY WORKER-PEASANT GOVERNMENT WILL BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET TROOPS, THE COUNTRY'S SOVEREIGNTY WILL BE COMPLETELY RESTORED, AND THERE WILL ALSO BE PEACE.

THIS IS THE PROGRAM OF THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE GOVERNMENT IS CONFIDENT THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY IN THE COUNTRY, PRECISELY THE BASIC CLASSES -- WORKERS AND PEASANTS -- WILL AGREE WITH IT, AS ALREADY MORE AND MORE PEOPLE DAILY ARE AGREEING WITH THIS PROGRAM.

IT IS PART OF THE GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM THAT THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT BE DISARMED BY CONCESSIONS.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE PRESENT COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT, JANOS KADAR STATED: ONCE ORDER HAS BEEN RESTORED, BUT NOT SOONER, BY NONPARTY PEOPLE AND EXPERTS. BUT THIS CANNOT HAPPEN UNTIL LEGAL ORDER HAS BEEN RESTORED AND NORMAL LIFE RESUMED. THE SAME APPLIES TO THE VARIOUS ECONOMIC AND OTHER DEMANDS. AFTER THE COUNTERREVOLUTION HAS BEEN COMPLETELY OVERCOME, LEGAL ORDER RESTORED, AND WORK RESUMED, WE CAN SIT DOWN TO DISCUSS AND SETTLE QUESTIONS.

THE GOVERNMENT ASKS FOR THE ELEMENTARY CONFIDENCE THAT THE PEOPLE SHOULD BELIEVE AND KNOW THAT THIS IS SO. THIS GOVERNMENT IS DEFENDING THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKERS AGAINST THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES, CAPITALISTS, AND BIG LANDOWNERS.

KADAR THEN ANNOUNCED THAT ACCORDING TO INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC, INSTEAD OF GOODS VALUED AT 30 MILLION RUBLES, AT THE REQUEST OF THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT THE SAME AMOUNT HAS BEEN OFFERED TO HUNGARY IN THE FORM OF FREE FOREIGN EXCHANGE.

BECAUSE OF THE ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES DUE TO THE STRIKE, THE GOVERNMENT IS COMPELLED TO TURN ALSO TO OTHER GOVERNMENTS FOR CREDITS. SO THAT INFLATION MAY BE PREVENTED THE GOVERNMENT WANTS TO SEE TO IT THAT AS SPEEDILY AS POSSIBLE EVERYBODY WILL BE ABLE TO LIVE FREE OF FEAR IN THE COUNTRY. THIS IS A SELF-EVIDENT HUMAN WISH AND DESIRE.

BUT EVEN UNTIL THIS IS ACHIEVED THE CORRECT PRINCIPLE SHOULD OBVIOUSLY BE THAT IT WOULD BETTER BE THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES AND INCITERS WHO FEAR, THAN THE PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE AND THE HONEST WORKERS. ON THIS POINT, THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT YIELD. ARRESTS WILL CEASE IMMEDIATELY IF THE MURDERERS CHANGE THEIR ATTITUDE, IF GANGSTERISM IS ABANDONED AS WELL AS THREATS AGAINST THOSE WORKERS AND MINERS WHO WANT TO WORK.

IN THE NEXT PART OF HIS SPEECH, KADAR DEALT WITH THE SO-CALLED IMRE NAGY QUESTION. IMRE NAGY AND HIS GROUP STATED THAT THEY WANTED TO LEAVE THE COUNTRY'S TERRITORY. IT WOULD HAVE BEEN WRONG, PRIOR TO THIS, FOR THEM TO HAVE RETURNED TO THEIR HOMES.

COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES HIDING IN BUDAPEST MIGHT HAVE GONE TO THE HOME OF ONE OF THEM AND COMMITTED A MURDER WITH THE PROVOCATIVE AIM OF TRYING TO SHIFT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THEIR CRIME, BEFORE THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD, ON THE KADAR GOVERNMENT.

IT COULD, PERHAPS, HAVE HAPPENED THAT SOMEONE WHOSE RELATIVE HAD BEEN TORTURED OR MURDERED BY THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES MIGHT HAVE MADE AN ATTEMPT AGAINST THEM, TO TAKE PERSONAL REVENGE. THIS LATTER CASE, TOO, WOULD HAVE BEEN ATTRIBUTED TO THE GOVERNMENT.

THE GOVERNMENT NATURALLY DID NOT AND DOES NOT INTEND TO CALL TO ACCOUNT IMRE NAGY AND HIS GROUP FOR THINGS FOR WHICH, ACCORDING TO THE GOVERNMENT, THEY ARE GREATLY RESPONSIBLE. THIS IS NOT IN THE INTEREST OF THE COUNTRY. THIS WOULD NOT PROMOTE CONSOLIDATION. THE DEPARTURE OF IMRE NAGY AND HIS ASSOCIATES TO A FRIENDLY, SOCIALIST COUNTRY DOES NOT MEAN -- IT GOES WITHOUT SAYING -- EXILE.

IN THE CONCLUDING PART OF HIS SPEECH, KADAR SAID THAT THE COUNTER* REVOLUTION IS INCITING TO STRIKE AND BOYCOTT, BUT WITH STEADILY DECREASING SUCCESS. PEOPLE WANT TO WORK AND LEAD A NORMAL HUMAN LIFE. THEY WANT LEGAL ORDER. COMMON SENSE (HUNGARIAN: JOZANSAG) IS STEADILY GAINING THE UPPER HAND. THE MORE IT GAINS THE UPPER HAND, THE MORE THE GOVERNMENT CAN REALIZE THOSE JUSTIFIED CLAIMS AND DEMANDS WHICH ARE FEASIBLE. KADAR ENDED HIS SPEECH BY SAYING:

KADAR -- TO YOU I SAY THAT THE CORRECT VIEWS MUST BE REPRESENTED BRAVELY. EXPERIENCE SHOWS THAT IF WE RAISE THE QUESTIONS BRAVELY AND OPENLY, THEN THE PEOPLE WHO LACK GOOD WILL FOLD THEIR EARS BACK AND KEEP QUIET WITH THEIR TAIL BETWEEN THEIR LEGS. WE MUST AT LAST CHANGE A SITUATION IN WHICH HONEST PEOPLE SIMPLY DARE NOT VOICE THEIR DECENT VIEWS IN A NUMBER OF ENTERPRISES AND INSTITUTIONS, WHILE THE WICKED, THE MUDDLE-HEADED, AND THE COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ORATE FROM THE TOP OF THE TABLE AND TERRORIZE THE MASSES.

YOU MUST CHANGE THIS. LET US BEGIN WORKING, AND THEN THINGS WILL GO STRAIGHT IN THE DIRECTION IN WHICH, I DECLARE, THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE WANT TO GO.

(END ALL)

NP 11/25-925P